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Selections.

HOW SHALL THE UNION BE RESTORED?

LETTER OF A. J. HAMILTON, OF TEXAS, TO
PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

NEW YORK, July 28, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: The deep interest felt by me as a Southern Union man, in the result of measures adopted by you for the maintenance of the National authority in all the States, by the complete and permanent suppression of the rebellion against the Union and the Constitution will, I trust, excuse the freedom of this letter and my request for your patient consideration of what I write.

I am sure that your desire to have the great issues involved in the present struggle properly and forever settled is not less ardent and constant than my own. Our common wish has common roots in our common aspirations for the honor, prosperity, and unity of the Republic; that which you cherish derives peculiar strength from the great responsibilities of the chief magistracy, and that which animates every pulsation of my heart derives a strength not less peculiar from the fact that the rebellion which imperils our country desolates my once happy home—deprives of their liberties and puts in jeopardy of their lives my family, my kindred, my friends and my neighbors.

But it will avail little to procure a temporary adjustment; and I am prompted to address you now because I observe in some quarters indications of a disposition to accept, if not to invite, a peace which would inevitably lead to new convulsions more disastrous than the present.

By some persons of considerable political prominence, and by some leading press, a systematic effort appears to be put forth to reconcile the public mind to the idea that the future policy of the government may be formed on the basis of a compromise with the cause of the existing rebellion, which will admit of the reestablishment of slavery in the States where it has been abolished by your proclamation of January last.

To pave the way, apparently, for such a compromise, Northern sympathizers with rebellion, and some, too, who cannot justly be so designated, constantly endeavor to impress on the public mind the notion that our National and State Constitutions were made for the white race alone; and that therefore other races can have no rights under them.

[We omit Mr. Hamilton's argument on this latter point, because it is already familiar to our readers. We omit also his earnest and timely protest against the schemes of colonization which are so strenuously urged in some quarters.]

What shall be said of the final proposal?—"Full pardon to the rebels, and the abrogation of your proclamation of emancipation?" There is nothing of opposition to free government, or of wrong to humanity and civilization, that is not embraced in this proposition. It justifies the rebellion in its acts and purposes; it asks, in effect, that the government shall become the accuser of those who have labored most zealously to sustain and preserve it. It asks the government to do more—to descend to a depth of infamy beyond that ever reached by any other—to admit in the face of Christendom, that the proclamations of freedom to the slave was a deliberate cheat, meant only to dupe for the time being the anti-slavery sentiment of the world, and especially to deceive the negro, to the end that he might be induced to engage in the contest, the sooner to force the rebel master to receive him back, and to acknowledge that he holds him under the Constitution of the United States.

In this connection, it is well to remember that this anti-slavery sentiment is the fixed condition of the public mind of the civilized world. And to this sentiment, more than to all other causes, do we owe the fact that non-interference by foreign governments in the great struggle now pending here has so far been maintained.

At the period when the governing classes of some of the governments of the Old World, sympathizing with the aristocratic principle of slavery, and deeply interested in the preservation of the privileges of class, were just ready to proclaim intervention in American affairs, the proclamation of freedom to the slaves, issued by you as President of the United States and in solemn form, and the concurrent assertion of the rebels in the South, of their determination to maintain slavery as the corner-stone of their new government, and so attracted their active sympathy to this government as to effectually forestall intervention.

And to this sentiment, thus aroused and stimulated by your grand proclamation, and now outspoke that we see the Emancipation party holding—and holding firmly under the able guidance of John Bright—the balance of power in that government.

In France, too, even Imperial power has not, so far, openly opposed the general sympathy on the side of freedom. If we are destined to encounter foreign enemies in this struggle, it will be most likely when by a vacillating party we support the proclamation, or its abandonment, we have forfeited the confidence, the respect, and moral aid of the friends of Christendom with us, intervention is but a possibility—against us, it is a certainty.

The effect which a disavowal and retraction of the proclamation would have upon the public mind of other nations is evident. It would at once paralyze the efforts of those who have hitherto stayed the action of their governments in proposed interference in our affairs.

It would weaken, if not destroy, the liberal party of France and England—it would surely convert them from friends to enemies of this government, and thus break down the most powerful barrier to intervention and national safety alone sufficient to prevent such madness.

But there is an argument higher than these which appeals directly to every Christian heart—an argument used by yourself in the terms of the proclamation.

Upon this act—sincerely believed (so runs the instrument to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity—I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God?

Thus did the chief of a Christian people, before mankind, and in sight of God, proclaim freedom to the slave, and by his official signature to the great act commit himself to its wisdom, its justice and its constitutionality, and to the efficiency of its provisions.

That act was in pursuance of an act of Congress authorizing it. The power in the Congress to declare war carries with it the power to provide the means and prescribe the necessary measures to make the war effective. It was in the exercise of this power that Congress acted. The war-making power, which is also the law-making power of the government, said to the thing, and it was done. It is unprofitable to attempt to prove to those who are unwilling to believe that the act was constitutional. The majority of the people of the United States and of the civilized world so believe it and so sanction it.

If your proclamation was not then a mere assumption of power, but a valid act, done in the exercise of constitutional discretion, what power can abrogate or annul it? The act, if constitutionally done, is as irrevocable as is the act of the President in signing an act passed by the Congress. In either case discretion and power cease with the act. When the proclamation was issued, it became the law of freedom to the slaves therein embraced—a law which I repeat is revocable by any power in the government. Laws which are general in their character and create no vested right in the citizen, may be changed or repealed—but those which create personal rights and vest them in the citizen are pro-

tected from infraction by constitutional guarantees. A legislative grant to land cannot be revoked at the pleasure of the power making the grant. The enfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of people by the government—the solemn act which raises them from slavery to freedom—is surely not less sacred and inviolable. There is no power in this government to make slaves of freemen, white or black. While the civilized world has hailed the act, with joy, it would shudder at an effort to recall it or impair its vital force. The policy of such a course would be as fatal to the peace and welfare of the country as the act would be atrocious in principle.

Those who propose it surely cannot yet comprehend the real design of the rebellion, and the change which it has produced in the relations of the different classes in the South. A restoration of "the Union as it was," to use a cant phrase of the day, is not a possible thing. If it means a restoration with slavery, then it will not be a Union of peace, prosperity and happiness, but a Union of discord, hatred and violence in the South which will sink it in barbarism. Can we hope for peace between the sections now at war, with slavery still existing? But if it were possible, how can it be expected that the rebels and loyal men of the South can live in peace in the future, the cause of the trouble—slavery—still in existence, the rebel masters more intolerant, jealous and brutal than ever before, with arrogance increased by the victory which they will have achieved over the people and government of the United States and the moral and political opinions of the civilized world? I know well that there are those who are impatient when "loyal men South" are mentioned in the consideration of these questions. Nevertheless, I insist most respectfully, but earnestly, that they are worthy of consideration because of their devotion to liberty and their government, because of their sacrifices and sufferings, and because they constitute the only future strength of the government in the South. They are to-day the majority of the South, whatever may be said or thought to the contrary. Their vindication is certain, if slow. Time will prove that the great body of the citizens of the South will gratefully return to the Union of their fathers, while it will more fully develop the undying hatred to free government of less than 300,000 slaveholders.

We need not further shut our eyes to the nature and disposition of the antagonistic forces now in conflict in this war. Men need not wonder at the confusion resulting from the conspiracy, created solely by the pro-slavery spirit that plotted the rebellion. This conspiracy is now known to have embraced various objects in its scope. The determination to hold in bondage four million of colored people with their increase, and to make such bondage perpetual, was the main object of the conspiracy. The determination formed the basis of all other measures, whether of intrigue, war or diplomacy. It entered into every plan and calculation of the rebel leaders. The attempt to destroy the national unity grew out of the conspiracy against the colored man, and became necessary to accomplish the scheme of his perpetual bondage. There was an obstacle in the way. There were seven million of non-slaveholders in the South. How could it be otherwise than that this population should, at no distant day, stand upon its rights and dictate that policy which should accord with its interests? It was the apprehension of this that led to the conspiracy against the political rights of these masses. It was a truth fully realized by the leading conspirators that slavery could not long exist against a union of the free labor forces North and South, blended by common sympathy; therefore the national unity must be destroyed. They said, "Slavery and Democracy are incompatible, and this involved the necessity of a monopoly of political power by the slaveholders in order to maintain in perpetuity their political property in slaves." These are the motives which led them to attempt the destruction of the government.

With sincere wishes for your health and welfare, I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

The nation can no longer afford to indulge party tacticians in that line of intrigue which has heretofore disgraced its base. The cause of nationality and free government is not alone in danger from domestic foes. The fall of Mexico, through weakness created by factions, should warn us. The usurper is already triumphing over the ruins of republican government in that unhappy country. No one can doubt the concurrent desire between that usurper and the anti-democratic spirit which to-day animates and controls the rebellion. At this moment negotiations are pending, if not consummated, between the leading rebels in Texas, who despair of success by the so-called Confederacy, and parties in Northern Mexico, for a union of Texas with the States of Tamaulipas, and Nuevo Leon and Coahuila for the formation of a new government under the imperial sanction and favor of Louis Napoleon. This will give the long-coveted opportunity to this despot to interfere in the affairs of this country with sufficient plausibility to relieve the act from the overwhelming censure of the French nation. If we are not now, we will at no distant day be standing upon the law of force and the preparation of the nation for warfare to save us from intervention. This is the only security we have. There are 300,000 colored men in the South, loyal by nature and circumstance, the enemies of those who would overthrow the nationality, and capable of being made allies in the common cause of freedom, justice, and humanity. This force is not to be despised, for it is a force that can be counted on in any emergency that may call it into requisition. It has one simple platform in the ideal of its future—the desire to be free, and fidelity to the power that makes it free. It is this simple platform that may make the colored man an immense power on the side of nationality. It is worth more to the nation to-day, if properly treated, than all the slaveholders, coupled with all those who are now mousing that abused word "conservatism." Conservatism for a long time repulsed the colored man, and made him the efficient ally of the rebels. Alarm for the cause of nationality changed the policy, and commenced making the colored man the ally of freedom.

I know that there are those who, while they desire the freedom of the slaves, are greatly troubled to determine what should be done with them afterward. And I have also observed that most frequently those who know least of the slaves of the South are most anxious in mind upon the subject. In three words the proper policy can be stated.

Let them alone. There is no rightful power in the government to do with them as they please. Let it be remembered that the late masters in the South, and others, will clamor more loudly against their speedy deportation than they now do against their freedom.

They will need, and must have, their labor (not forced, put paid) until time and a change of population in the South shall furnish an adequate supply of white labor. When this period arrives, it is most probable—nay, it is certain—that the black race will begin to desire a home and a government exclusively their own. And then I shall be glad, if living, to see this government extend a strong and generous hand to assist them. If we will, to-day, take care of the rebellion and its cause, as against domestic and foreign foes we will have the question of the future will care of care.

By your just proclamation you gave the highest earthly sanction to the wise and noble policy of the enfranchisement of the black man, and by its enrollment in your armies for the defense of the country, you have confirmed it to the benefit of the nation. You will be urged to revoke that act. God forbid that you should listen to such advisers and so rob yourself of the gratitude and admiration of mankind. The utterance of these sentiments may be some deemed out of place and unseemly. I can better afford to bear the censure of such than to forego my convictions of truth and duty.

With sincere wishes for your health and welfare, I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. J. HAMILTON.
To the President of the United States.

THE LAWRENCE MASSACRE.

The Leavenworth (Kansas) Conservative publishes the following account of the Lawrence massacre from one of its editors, just returned from the ruins:

Fixing rumors had painted a terrible picture, but the reality exceeded the reports. We found Massachusetts street one mass of smouldering ruins and crumbling walls, the light from which cast a sickening glare upon the little knots of excited men and distressed women, gazing upon the ruins of their once happy homes and prosperous business. Only two business-houses were left upon this street—one known as the armory, and the other as the old Miller Block. About 125 houses, in all, were burned, and only one or two escaped, being ransacked, and every thing of value carried away or destroyed. Six or eight soldiers, who camped upon this side of the river, and who fired across at every rebel who appeared upon the bank, deterred the cowards from destroying some of the houses near the ferry, and from cutting down the flag-pole. The force of the rebels is variously estimated from 250 to 400. Reliable parties place it at 300. Their every act during their stay in the city was characterized by the most cowardly barbarism. They entered the town on the gallop, firing into every house, and when the occupants appeared at the door they were shot down like fowls. Five bodies, burned to a crisp, lay near the ruins of the Eldridge House. They could not be recognized. Eighteen out of twenty-two unarmed recruits, encamped south of the town, were murdered in their tents. Their bodies lay in the colored church when we arrived. Messrs. Trask, Dr. Griswold, Baker and Thorp, were shot down in the street, and Quantrell, the assassin of the City Hotel, had a diamond ring stolen from her finger. Quantrell obliged the man to restore it. In revenge for this the ruffians after ward came back and shot her father before the mother's eyes. They also tried to kill Miss Stone. Gen. Collamore went into his well to hide, and the bad air killed him. His son and Pat. Keefe lost their lives trying to get the father out. The life of Dr. Attorney Riggs was saved by the heroism of his wife, who seized the bridle of the rebel's horse, who attempted to shoot him as he ran.

Several cases of remarkable bravery of women related to us. The wife of Sheriff Brown three successive times put out the fire kindled to burn the house. Her husband was hidden under the floor. The house was saved by her heroism.

The rebels in the South, of their determination to maintain slavery as the corner-stone of their new government, so awakened that deep sentiment of hostility to slavery in the masses of the people of those governments, and so attracted their active sympathy to this government as to effectually forestall intervention.

It might have been supposed that the teachings of events which set us right are this. It seems, however, that the calamities of the country have had no power to instruct the political intriguers. Upon the active treason of the South, its attempt to destroy the nationality, the plot to overthrow free government, the chains of the masses of the South for protection, and all consideration of future security, are as nothing compared with the preservation of slavery—their only principle is slavery conservatism.

The time has come for conservatism to do its duty. The political philosopher may carry the inquiry further, and show why it is that so much of the population of the North has become a questionable element of national strength. He will find the reason for it in a long-continued sympathy with slavery. The encouragement of the slave system of the South by the North has progressed until it has so contaminated not only Southern but even Northern society, as to seriously imperil the security of the nation.

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Every man in the country who still clings to the hope of a great nationality under the old ensign, deserves to be brought about? Slavery has pronounced democracy to be its opponent. Will unity be brought about by upholding slavery? It is aimed at the destruction of the national life. Will the national life be prolonged and secured by cherishing the anti-slavery sentiment of the world, and especially to deceive the negro, to the end that he might be induced to engage in the contest, the sooner to force the rebel master to receive him back, and to acknowledge that he holds him under the Constitution of the United States.

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so horrible as that seen among the smouldering ruins at Lawrence. No fighting, no resistance—cold-blooded murder was there.

Persons just from Lawrence report that the number of dead will reach 170, perhaps 200, as bodies are constantly being found.

The excitement throughout the State is intense, and our citizens unanimously regard the Lawrence massacre as a legitimate fruit of the policy of the School-field-Ewing policy in Missouri and Kansas.

editorial pages is likely to be counteracted by the demoralizing tendency of advertising sheets. I cannot, therefore, but express my hope as a friend of your excellent periodicals, that you did not sanction the introduction of a manifesto which must injure, where it does not offend, the moral sentiment of all your readers. Alas! for our country! alas! for our Christianity! if through the controversies arising out of this great American struggle we should be led to regard, with less abhorrence a system which, from our childhood, we have been taught to regard as violating the common rights of humanity, and trampling on the plainest precepts of the Gospel.

I remain, gentlemen, with sincere respect,
Surrey Chapel, August 6. NEWMAN HALL.

much as buying policies. Hundreds suffer from daily bread because they have spent the last cent to get a policy. Now let us tell you that you are robbed of your money when you buy a policy. It is all a system of cheating. You cannot possibly make money by it. Let us, then, as your shop any more than if there were a mad dog in it.

"Lastly, keep clear of drink. Rum makes a fool or a crazy man of those who drink much, and will bring them to ruin and misery. Do as we beg of you—listen to this advice. Fear God and keep his commandments, and you will speedily recover from your injuries and be better off than you have ever been."

"You are further advised to resume the occupation or calling you had previous to the late riot; confident as we are that the public authorities are both able and willing to protect you in the enjoyment of your right to labor."

ity can be made. But the crime of the eight hundred assassins whom Quantrell led to the slaughter does not, alas! exhaust the solemn question of responsibility. Whose mismanagement was it which, in a district where every rebel army is subdued, and which is filled with loyal troops, permitted eight hundred men to gather, arm, march scores of miles through a State where only loyal men are supposed to live, attack, capture, rob and burn a Union city, murder its inhabitants and escape, is the inquiry which will force itself upon every reflecting mind. That inquiry—and no one regrets more our selves to have it to say—should not stop with the massacre at Lawrence.

That affair it will be impossible for reflecting, well-informed men to look upon otherwise than as a mere incident—a result of causes which have long been in operation—an illustration merely of a system of misrule, to which this Department has been subjected for months past, breeding dangers which have been gathering and festering beneath the surface, until they have at last broken out in the bloody calamity which has startled the whole country. The Lawrence tragedy is the legitimate fruit of the policy which has been inaugurated in the Department of the Missouri, at the instigation of men more criminal than the department commander, if less responsible, and should surprise no one. The same character of event has been long liable to happen at other points, and may yet be repeated, for there is no one at all familiar with the present condition of things in this State but who will admit that Missouri is charged and surcharged with danger. Naturally enough, those near the scene of the disaster incline to cast the culpability upon the District and Department Commanders, but back of the question of their guilt or innocence comes up the inquiry of who is responsible for their appointment? Who caused the removal of the former Department Commander, whose administration had been a marked success, and whom the President in the very act of removal endorsed as "honest, competent and patriotic," and as having done "no wrong, either of omission or commission"? Who imposed upon the department an officer whose first administration of affairs in this department was a failure, and who was appointed and continued in his present position against the earnest protests of the best and soundest Union men in Missouri and Kansas, and in spite of their repeated remonstrances, appeals, and in some cases their predictions of the very results which have followed? The question of responsibility goes deep, but it should be probed to the bottom.

IMPORTANT FROM THE SOUTH.

JEFF. DAVIS SAID TO HAVE CALLED FOR 500,000 BLACK TROOPS.

FORREST MONITOR, Saturday, Aug. 29.
THE steamer C. W. Thomas has arrived from Newbern. . . . Rebel papers received at Morehead City say that Jeff. Davis has decided, after a conference with the Governors of the Confederate States, to call out 500,000 black troops, who are to receive their freedom and fifty acres of land at the end of the war.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30, 1863.

Although your paper has recently alluded to the arming of the slaves in the South, I do not remember to have seen any where an account received in which this question had been introduced into the politics of the South, nor any mention of it in European cabinets. I will therefore add to the information you have already given to the public by communicating to you the contents of a letter written in Richmond a week ago on that subject. This letter came from a source which I have the best reason to believe well informed on these matters, and is entitled, in my humble opinion, to the confidence of the people.

Converting blacks into soldiers for the defence of the national territory is not a new idea with the Confederates. As early as 1861, when the Union forces under McClellan were scattered along the extensive line of the Chickahominy swamps, many of the most prominent and wealthiest planters, frightened by the danger of the fall of Richmond, which they then considered as an inevitable event, proposed to arm and to lead their slaves, and to bring them to the rescue of the threatened capital. But public opinion having not yet been prepared by repeated reverses and losses in war to overrule one of its strongest prejudices, it was not until after a long and laborious contest that the South was induced to see the title of slaves as a sufficient basis for a national army, and black regiments formed for the defence of cities and strongholds. It was obvious the inability of arming the slaves, and that they were deterred from doing so only by the fear of hurting too violently existing prejudices, and thus weakening their own power.

The series of victories won by Gen. Lee inflated the pride and vanity of the Southerners to such an extent that, for a moment, they believed themselves to be indebted for their success to the holiness of the institution of slavery as well as to the superior valor of their men. The victory of Gettysburg and the coming of the winter of 1862-63, however, when the Union armies caused this stupendous edifice of pride and error to crumble down, and demonstrated to them the emptiness and folly of their iniquitous theory. They then turned their eyes toward their four million of blacks, and asked themselves how it was that the government had not yet availed itself of the resources offered by this large recruiting field, and why an army of blacks was not raised forthwith. I may say, however, that those who wished at first to use the blacks as soldiers did not think that they would have been deemed slaves all the while.

I understand, the sentiment of the army which modified the views of the planters in that respect. The army refused to fight unless the slaves be made free before entering the ranks, and received equal advantages with those enjoyed by the white.

Before this question was ripe enough to be brought before the rebel government, Beauregard, supported in this by the opinion of the Governor of South Carolina, had been asking for authority to arm a few negro regiments for the defence of Charleston and Fort Moultrie of Alabama, urged by the necessity of providing for the defence of Mobile, had addressed the same request to Richmond, and recommended in a public proclamation the arming of negroes in his own State.

These unexpected demands coincided too well with the secret sentiments of the Cabinet not to be used by it as the ground of a new policy. Thus, while Beauregard's claim might be considered as justifying the arming of negroes under the plea of military necessity, the proclamation of Gov. Shorter of Alabama, and the endorsement of the Governor of South Carolina, that the slaves should be armed at the disposal of the government, a force of several thousand men, and paved the way for a powerful military organization all over the extent of the Confederacy. Jeff. Davis was too shrewd not to avail himself of these fortunate circumstances.

By his order, every Governor in the rebel States was consulted concerning the propriety of arming slaves for the war, and was invited to Richmond to confer with the President on the subject. This invitation was, it seems, immediately complied with, and after fifteen days of close conference between the governors of the States and the members of the Cabinet, it was decided that the salvation of the country required the arming of the slaves, and that a call of 400,000 blacks, one from every eight inhabitants, should take place forthwith.

Outside of military and social considerations, the importance of which cannot be fully estimated now, one of the motives which urged the adoption of this measure is, I understand, that it is likely to have upon European Powers. While the discussion on the subject, lately made a speech at Dubuque, Iowa, in which he said, as reported in *The Daily Times* of that city:

"He had been frequently asked, since he came here, why Seymour had not opposed the draft? He would say that the *Governor had done all it was possible to do*. In a short time there would be a convention held, which would adopt resolutions opposed to the war and against forcing people to fight. If a man wanted to fight let him join the army, but no man should be forced to enter the service of the desots in power. Gentlemen, Gov. Seymour will act up to these resolutions."

"It is not safe," said the speaker, "to oppose the draft now. New York is full of Federal bayonets. We had a riot, but the tax-payers, many of whom are Democrats, will have to pay for the destruction of property, and it will come hard on them. As a question of brute force it is not policy to make war on the government now. We tried it once, and it did not pay."

This frank confession that the mob which lately ravaged this city, burning buildings, plundering houses and stores and robbing and murdering defenceless citizens, was instigated by the Democratic party, certainly has the merit of frankness. "We tried it once," says Mr. McMasters, "and it did not pay." The Democrats of low birth must be unreasonable indeed if they were not satisfied with this apology for Gov. Seymour.

REMARKS BY THE TRIBUNE.

It has long been our firm conviction that Mr. Jeff. Davis and his confederates were destined to live in history as the greatest practical Anti-slavery men that the world has ever known. We do not under-estimate the services of Messrs. Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison and others, to the cause of Emancipation; they have been faithful to their light, and have done a good work, though we cannot humor their disposition to claim as their thunder the last quarter of a century. Mr. Gerrit Smith, too, has done his part manfully; so have Gidens, Lovejoy, Jay, Sumner, and others, done their

part, and are the living heads, who the boys to pull down on their own recklessness heads the idol temple which they seemed so intent on elevating and strengthening. And if—as now seems probable—they have just resolved on arming the slaves in Dixie for a last desperate effort in behalf of Disunion, they have brought the end visibly, palpably near. The statements of a correspondent in Washington, which we publish in another column, are positive on this point, and as we know his sources of information are usually trustworthy we see no reason to doubt them in this instance.

That the Confederates have acted at the outset of their rebellion we have already shown. They did so in Mobile even before the battle of Bull Run. They did so in Louisiana, before one negro had been allowed to put on the uniform of the United States, and black regiments had an honorable position in their grand parade in the Autumn of '61. They did so in Tennessee, even before they had openly seceded from the Union. Theodore Winthrop at Great Bethel was shot by a slave, armed for the rebels, and the Yankees were denied to steal the slaves and sell them in Cuba. In fact, the rebels intended and fully expected the outcome of which they objected to. And their savage acts and orders directing that blacks captured while in arms for the Union should be enslaved or put to death, were all based on the assumption that those negroes were their slaves, who had "revolted" and were in "insurrection" against their lawful rulers and masters. And that is a crime which these gentry regard as a peculiar horror.

But the Confederates, it seems, have decided to make the plunge. After breaking up the Democratic party which was pro-slavery, and then essaying desperately to break up the Union on the same pretext, they have at last turned a short corner and resolved to arm and free all their able bodied slaves! Hitherto, their arming has been fitful, local, sporadic; hence, they arm systematically, universally. And whereas they have always been bound up of the devotion of the negroes to their masters and to their master of Yankees and Abolitionists, they now betray their perfidy by declaring that every slave they arm shall have his freedom.

It will be idle to seek to conceal, even from the most stolid, that this is in effect an edict of Universal Emancipation. One Hundred Thousand men—much less Two, Three, Five Hundred Thousand—will never lay down their arms leaving their wives and children in bondage. "It is the first step that costs," and that decides all that follow. A government which can maintain a negro army from among the slaves subject to it, must be practically anti-slavery, no matter who might be its choice. The rebellion, calling the slaves in arms to its aid, is compelled to sacrifice politicians. They are supplied by them with false assertions and sophistical arguments to use within their sphere of influence. They are not so detectable as their wire-pullers; but, though more despicable, not much less mischievous. They have not the skill to contrive the firebrands, arrows and death of their abler coadjutors, but they are no less diligent in scattering them abroad.

These are times that try men's souls quite as much as those of the Revolution of '76. And it depends upon how men's souls come out of the furnace whether we are to be a great, united and free people, or not. The intelligent miscreants whose heart's desire is to deliver up the North, bound hand and foot, with its own consent, to its old masters, assisted by the weak and paltry drivellers who think it a fine thing to help them do it, are now fairly arrayed against the men who desire to see genuine liberty universally established, under equal laws, justly administered, which shall secure the safety and rights of every honest man and good citizen everywhere. This denounces our President's two proclamations of Freedom as hideous, execrable, fiendish. It called upon the world to regard them with amazed abhorrence. The world regarded them not abhor. In fact, while the rebels have resolved to arm and systematically advocate through the clergymen of the world, they have all been exceeding chary of responding to its demonstrations in behalf of slavery. Bondage was the strength of the Confederacy in Dixie and among our Northern Copperheads, but its weakness everywhere else.

We have never yet declared slavery dead in this country. We have more commonly apprehended that it would yet afflict and distract us for a quarter of a century. But if the rebel chiefs have resolved to arm their slaves, we must be ready.

But can any negro army be raised that will afford us the safety of the rebellion to the rebellion?

We think not. It is too late. There is not a negro in America so stupid as not to know that the rebellion was concocted and has been maintained in the interest of slavery. It had no object, no meaning, apart from this. It denounces our President's two proclamations of Freedom as hideous, execrable, fiendish. It called upon the world to regard them with amazed abhorrence. The world regarded them not abhor. In fact, while the rebels have resolved to arm and systematically advocate through the clergymen of the world, they have all been exceeding chary of responding to its demonstrations in behalf of slavery. Bondage was the strength of the Confederacy in Dixie and among our Northern Copperheads, but its weakness everywhere else.

This eleven-hour dodge will only hasten the catastrophe it is designed to prevent. The slaveholders will no more be coerced into subversive to treason by the mad-dog cry of Abolition. The Poor Whites who have been fighting against "negro equality" will see that their cause is tumbling about their ears. Everybody has now a good excuse for turning his back on the discredited, bankrupt, hopeless rebellion. In a few days its power will have departed, and its memory left to rot. Amen!

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1863.

THE MYSTERY OF UNGODLINESS.

If the Mystery of Godliness is great, greater yet is the Mystery of Ungodliness. That is to say, in certain of its phases. Some kinds of wickedness are perfectly explicable by the laws of human nature. All such as find their satisfactions in sensual delights, for instance, are easily understood.

But the Mystery of Ungodliness is not so easily understood, because they spring from certain well-known passions of the human heart. Something, at least, appears to be gained from their commission.

The pleasure found in the exercise of tyranny, oppression and cruelty by the guilty party can be comprehended, because we know how strong is the love of power in the natural man. The satisfaction to be derived from the accumulation of wealth and in its expenditure is intelligible by all of us, because the love of property is implanted in all our natures. In all these cases and their like there is a *quid pro quo*—something acquired or something enjoyed, as a self-act for the penalties attached to the violation of divine laws. But the disinterested love of a wickedness like slavery, sympathy with its perpetrators from spontaneous impulse, hatred of the victims of the villainy, on purely abstract principles, a desire to see them bound down in their torments with adamantine chains, and thrust back into them should they have escaped from them, and this though they have done their ill-wishers no harm, nor their tormentors done them any good, all this is indeed a Mystery of Ungodliness hard to be explained. And yet how often do we meet with it, not ashamed of itself and hiding its head, but uplifting it and boasting of its disgrace as if it were its glory! And this not only in the back slums of cities, in the haunts of vice, crime, poverty and ignorance, but in the high places of society, they claim to be, among the educated, the externally refined and elegant, and especially among those who stand apart from the rest of the world as hoarier than they, and who profess to be, in a peculiar manner, the accepted and favorite servants of the common Father of Mankind and the chosen disciples of Jesus Christ.

English Snobishness is an elevated and exemplary virtue compared with this vice. There is something in the distinctions of society there which one can conceive of taking hold of the imagination. The pleasure found in the exercise of tyranny, oppression and cruelty by the guilty party can be comprehended, because we know how strong is the love of power in the natural man. The satisfaction to be derived from the accumulation of wealth and in its expenditure is intelligible by all of us, because the love of property is implanted in all our natures. In all these cases and their like there is a *quid pro quo*—something acquired or something enjoyed, as a self-act for the penalties attached to the violation of divine laws. But the disinterested love of a wickedness like slavery, sympathy with its perpetrators from spontaneous impulse, hatred of the victims of the villainy, on purely abstract principles, a desire to see them bound down in their torments with adamantine chains, and thrust back into them should they have escaped from them, and this though they have done their ill-wishers no harm, nor their tormentors done them any good, all this is indeed a Mystery of Ungodliness hard to be explained. And yet how often do we meet with it, not ashamed of itself and hiding its head, but uplifting it and boasting of its disgrace as if it were its glory! And this not only in the back slums of cities, in the haunts of vice, crime, poverty and ignorance, but in the high places of society, they claim to be, among the educated, the externally refined and elegant, and especially among those who stand apart from the rest of the world as hoarier than they, and who profess to be, in a peculiar manner, the accepted and favorite servants of the common Father of Mankind and the chosen disciples of Jesus Christ.

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track, and but for the friendly counsel and aid of slaves they would have been promptly captured. They baf-fled their pursuers, however, for three weeks, during which time their sufferings from hunger, anxiety, fatigue, and loss of sleep were fearful. They had wandered about in bogs and swamps four or five days, when, hungry, footsore, and almost in despair, they were longing to find a plantation where there were slaves.

Suddenly, I heard the barking of a dog not far distant. We ceased and listened. It was not a blood-hound. Collies, being a little afraid from the effects of terrible rifle-firing at Shiloh did not, at first, catch the sound. Now we knew that help was near. We quickened our pace, and after a few moments heard the voices of some negro men. A few steps further, and we came in sight of a cotton-field, with a large company in walking in the water of a small brook that flowed in that direction. With great caution, we neared the field, in which there were twenty-five negroes at work ploughing cotton. Most of the men looked old and toil-worn. When we were reconnoitring our ground, I observed an old, gray-haired man nearing the fence with his scythe, and when he paused a moment to scrape his plough, before returning across the field, I rapped on a rail, which instantly drew his attention. When I caught his eye, I beheld an intellect and a sympathetic language there which gave me hope. I approached the old man more carefully, and after a few words, I said to him, "Sir, there is danger of capture, and I am going to call on white folks in this condition, and I am very hungry. Could you get me something to eat?"

"Oh, yes, mass! God bless you all you want; but go back! go back!" he continued, waving his hand. "If to hurry me back to our hiding place; 'go back, mass! day's not done; do cabin up dar, in dat field? To-night, just at seven o'clock, come to dat cabin, mass, and I'll give you all de supper you want. Now, go back! go back, mass!'" "Well, uncle," said I, "I am travelling through your country, and I am very ragged, as you see. I don't wish to call on white folks in this condition, and I am very hungry. Could you get me something to eat?"

"Over one hundred and fifty negroes took their masters' horses and wagons in saline County, last Sunday, and in open day formed a procession and started for Kansas. These things are marching on."

Marlboro, Ohio, Aug. 26, 1863. A. B.

HOSPITAL SKETCHES. By LOUISA M. ALCOTT. Boston: James Redpath. New York: J. J. Spelman, 70 Grove street.

Most of these Sketches were first printed in the Boston Commonwealth, where they won praise from literary men and women of the first ability. The publisher, having agreed to pay the author the usual copyright and resolved to devote at least five cents for every copy sold to the support of orphans made fatherless or homeless by the war, will not permit any journal to publish any part of the contents. The writer, who is understood to describe scenes of which she was an eyewitness, is the gifted daughter of the Transcendental Philosopher, A. Bronson Alcott.

THE EMPIRE OF THE MOTHER OVER THE CHARACTER AND DESTINY OF THE RACE. By HENRY C. WRIGHT. Pp. 120. Boston: Bela Marsh. New York: A. J. Davis & Co.

The author of this work aims to show that the period between the conception and birth of human beings, as to the formation of their character and the control of their destiny after they are born, is the most important period of their existence; that what is done for them in the pre-natal state, while their organic conditions and tendencies are being formed and fixed, bears more directly and powerfully on their health and happiness of body and soul, than what is done for them after they are born. This doctrine, if true, is of the very highest importance; and the considerations urged in support of it by Mr. Wright are surely such as should commend it, both on scientific and moral grounds, to the most careful investigation.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW for July (L. Scott & Co.'s American Edition, 38 Walker St.) contains nine articles, as follows: The Resources and Future of Austria; Natural History of the Bible; Glacial Theories; Our Colonial System; Washington Irving; Modern Spiritualism; Sacred Trees and Flowers; Rosa di Roma; The Nile—Speke and Grant.

EMANCIPATION CONVENTION IN MISSOURI.—A mass Convention of the Radical Emancipationists of Missouri convened at Jefferson City, the State Capital, on Tuesday. Four-fifths of the Counties were represented, and other delegates were yet to arrive. Judge Wells of Cole County was chosen President. The following resolution created the wildest enthusiasm, and was referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolved, That, relying upon the unanimity of feeling existing between the Union men of Missouri and Illinois, we respectfully request the latter, while awaiting our meeting at Springfield, to join us in appealing to the President for a change of Administration in the Department of Missouri to correct the evils of the policy of pro-slavery conservatism and concession to rebels, which has permitted the massacre at Lawrence, and under which the true loyal men of Missouri are to-day suffering the infliction of a murderous civil strife from the presence of large numbers of enemies to the government, while every foot of soil is under Federal rule.

A resolution was adopted, declaring it expedient that the Convention make necessary arrangements for calling a Constitutional Convention to adopt and submit to the people an Ordinance for Immediate Emancipation, and take such other measures as will tend to pacify the State.

Resolutions were also adopted recommending the people to instruct in writing, by a majority of voters, each member of the present Legislature who will not pledge himself in writing to call a new Convention; the name of each member betraying his constituents to us. In order to test his professed knowledge of us, and to ascertain all we could relative to our purposes, we piled him with various questions.

"Now, mass," said he, "as we were about to separate until all true friends shall meet in heaven, 'now, do as I tell you, and you'll get away. You keep da pine-ridge straight on through mass's plantation for five miles. Dis ridge goes clean to the coast. It's bout three hundred mile to do coast by de Ocmulgee river. The Ocmulgee flows into de Altamaha, and Altamaha is de mouth of de Altamaha, and Altamaha is in the land of Yankees dar."

The old man understood the times. His knowledge of the war and its recent and important movements, was thorough and accurate. He was careful and somewhat reticent, in his communications to us. In order to test his professed knowledge of us, he was perfectly willing to talk to us; and we turned him with his various questions.

"Well, uncle," said we, "I suppose you know we are running from the conscript?"

"No, sah, I know you is the Yankees what broke out 'jail at Macon, dat's what I know. I know."

You're right, uncle. Now what do you know about this?"

"I don't know much about it, sah; only I know dat de Yankees whips, de darkies all be free, but if dease habbele, den we be slaves."

"Which do you prefer should gain the day?"

"Why, God bless you, mass; I doos what I think I's a fool! Course I wants you to whip."

"You say they are hunting us; how many have they after us?"

"I don't know much about it, sah; but I know dat tree men come to massa day 'fore yesterday for to git a blood-hound to hunt Yankees with what runned away from Massa's prison."

I conjectured that the thought of being pursued by the Yankees was horrifying in the extreme; and notwithstanding we had already seen two large packs at different times upon our track, the possible death by these fierce monsters in this wilderness made my heart cold.

Our further conversation gave us a full and satisfactory knowledge of our route, and was delineated by our safe friend, as we had afterward reason to know, with perfect geographical accuracy. We asked him in the case we should be pursued by the bloodhounds, what measures we should employ to baffle them. This was no new subject to him. He, in common with his fellow-slaves, had seen too many instances in which these brutes had been employed in capturing fugitives, not to know their tracks, or the plan adopted to slay them. He told us what the dogs followed us in the cane-brake, in order to prevent us from keeping the trail; we should travel as much as possible in the water; but if we should be closely pursued, to leave the cane-brake, and take to the Ocmulgee river. He assured us that the dogs were fearful of the alligators which abounded, and that the kidnappers who were taught that alligators would destroy only negroes and dogs. He didn't believe it himself, although his master thought he did. He added:

"If deem gins go close on to you, why you ju git a long pole, and hop about two feet, and you kin. You do dis four or five times, and whenever you light, why, you jus' put some peper in de holes what a dog can't smell when de hours come, dey lose dat sourt, and dey gots a snuffin' and a snuffin' roun', and buncy day dey gots up 'at' peper into dar nostrils, and den dey go chee! chee! chee! and dar'll be de last dem day."

This plan of information, and the manner in which it was conveyed, accompanied as it was by violent gesticulations of the body, and an exact imitation of dog-screaming, was very amusing; and though surrounded by forbidding circumstances, we indulged in an audience.

From this man we first learned of a complete organization among the negroes, for the purpose of aiding fugitives in making their escape. It was similar to an institution which I had often heard of, especially in the Northern States, under the name of "Underground Railroad," on which the officers were glad to take passage, thoroughly acquainted with their duties, and were very surprised to find they should be imposed upon.

We had marked for insertion. We comment the book to our readers as worthy of a careful perusal and extensive circulation.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE for August (American Edi-tion, L. Scott & Co., 38 Walker st.) contains the following:

ing articles: A Visit to an Insurgent Camp—Letter from Poland; Caxtonian, Part XVII.; Novels; Translations of Horace; Indian Prosperity; George Cruikshank; The State and Prospects of the Church of England; In the Garden; The Perpetual Curate, Part III.; Capt. Speke's Welcome.

THE BLACK MAN: His Antecedents, his Genius, and his Achievements. By WILLIAM WELLS BROWN. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Thomas Hamilton, 59 Beekman street.

The first edition of this work having been widely diffused, its character and object are too well understood to need description here. It contains biographical sketches, more or less complete, of 58 representative men and women of "African descent," who, by their own genius, capacity, and intellectual development, have surmounted the many obstacles which slavery and prejudice threw in their way, and raised themselves to positions of honor and influence. Among them are Benjamin Baneker, Nat Turner, Madison Washington, Toussaint L'Overture, Crispus Attucks, Ira Aldrich, Alexander Dumas, Denmark Vesey, Frederick Douglass, Sir Edward Jordan, C. L. Remond, Robert Purvis, and President Gerrard. The work is a good one to place in the hand of any person who, through ignorance or prejudice, has been led to regard the blacks as an inferior race.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE BORDER, KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 18, 1863.

I. Lieut.-Col. Walter King, 4th Regiment M. S. M., will as often as may be necessary, visit the several military stations in that part of Missouri included in this District, and ascertain the number of negroes who have no desire to be sent to the seat of war, and who are fit for service since the 17th day of July, 1862, have been enlisting in the rebellion.

General Order No. 9, issued this morning by Gen. Ewing, takes the stand out of the Convention Ordinance completely. The following is a copy:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE BORDER, KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 18, 1863.

A. B.

THE SLAVES OF ALL DISLOYAL MEN IN WESTERN MISSOURI TO BE TAKEN INTO KANSAS.

Correspondence of the Missouri Democrat.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 20th, 1863.

There is light in the West! The "troubled border" is to be no longer vexed with the doubtful, devilish policy of those who aid the rebellion by upholding slavery. General Order No. 9, issued this morning by Gen. Ewing, takes the stand out of the Convention Ordinance completely. The following is a copy:

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Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

LOVE'S RECORD.

WHEN first the blushing roses came,
You as a stranger spoke my name;
When they were crowded thick with bloom,
As friends we planned to give them room;
And one, I blushing, broke for you—
How could I blush and break for two?

When first the hawthorn berries fell,
You spoke and said you loved me well;
Some words I answered, faint and light,
But knew your eyes were gleaming bright;
We loitered through our little glen;
You did not doubt my meaning then.

When shone the stars fields of snow,
You spoke and said that you must go;
And though I gave no tear nor sigh,
I saw no dolefulness in your eye;
And when you left me at the gate,
You did not ask if I would wait.

You asked no plighted faith that day,
You asked not what my heart would say;
Then, though we were to live apart,
Unspoken trust filled all your heart;
Then why that gloomy brow?
Am I less fond and faithful now?

U.S.A.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.*

BY HORACE GREELEY.

GREAT ORATORS have been rare in all ages; Great Britain has now and Gladstone; in France, Berryer, growing old, is being quietly replaced by Jules Favre; this country, in the course of a hundred years, has known—how many? James Otis; Patrick Henry; Henry Clay; Sergeant S. Prentiss; Wendell Phillips—have there been any others? Daniel Webster was one of the largest, brightest intellects: he spoke forcibly, because he thought deeply, saw clearly, and reasoned cogently; but I was never thrilled by the magic of his voice, and would nearly as soon read one of his great speeches as hear him make it. John C. Calhoun's was a subtle brain: he was rather a metaphysician than an orator; he argued tersely, compactly; if you granted his premises, he would almost compel you to adopt his conclusion; but Clay's charm was in his manner, his utterance; he wielded audiences and maledict senates, but did not, even in life, greatly influence those who never met, and did not personally hear him, while his speeches are scarcely read at all since his death. He dealt so entirely with interests, with measures, with details and adjustments, that few even of his happiest efforts bear separation from their immediate impulses and occasions; he spoke warmly and nobly in behalf of South American independence, of the development and diversification of American industry, and of the guaranteed rights of the semi-civilized Indians; but he very rarely dug deliberately down to the primary rocks and insisted on solving the problem of the hour by the application of universal principles of eternal truth. Hence the rapid decline of his reputation as a speaker—while his less popular contemporaries, Webster and Calhoun, continue to be read and admired. Prentiss spent his maturity mainly at the bar, in a comparatively rude section, and was excluded by his political affinities from all but a mere glimpse of public life; but the testimony of those who often heard him places him very high on the roll of American orators, and leaves little room for doubt that, with the opportunity of either of the great triumvirate, he would have achieved a wide and enduring renown.

WENDELL PHILLIPS has been for a little more than a quarter of a century known as a public speaker. An American orator is so preponderantly boisterous and convulsive—so disfigured by contortions and volanic fervor of manner for which the master ejected affords no adequate excuse—that he has done us good service in the eyes of the judicious by affording a striking example of eloquence without rant, earnestness devoid of vehemence, and fervor without ostentation. While the self-proclaimed antagonists of "fanaticism" have habitually indulged in a style of public discussion which inevitably suggested the vulgarisms "spread-eagle" and "splurge," this arch "fanatic" has persisted in talking to audiences as quietly, naturally, equably, as though he were conversing with a few chosen friends at his own dinner-table, and were commanding the most obvious truths, instead of the monstrous and startling novel assumption that a man who requires and receives another's labor ought to pay him a stipulated price for it, and that no man should be the absolute owner of another's wife and children. "Silver-tongued" as he has been justly characterized, we think the first impression of almost every boy who hears him is that oratory is a far easier and simpler achievement than he has been led to suppose it." His words are so happily chosen and enunciated that they hardly seem to have been chosen at all.

But Mr. Phillips is far more than a great orator. He is the eminent apostle of a great reformation. In the fullness of his youthful manhood, with a prosperous and brilliant career opening brightly before him, he deliberately put aside ambition and devoted his whole energies to the uplifting of the most despised and abused class of his countrymen from the mire into which they had been trodden, and into which millions of reckless feet were fiercely trampling them deeper and deeper. He was a popular member of a proud and powerful party which stood ready to honor and elevate him; he was the ornament of a social circle more attractive, refined, and exclusive than that of any other American city; the bar, the forum, the senate, professed him eminent and wealthy; he spurned them all, and gave all he had and was to the cause of the loathed and powerless slave. He cast away popularity without affecting to undervalue it, he excluded himself from the hope of political advancement as utterly as though he had migrated for life to Doshomey, without a thought or a hope that the sacrifices he made for a destitute race and a hopeless cause could be recompensed this side of the Resurrection of the Just. Surely such a consecration, such a man, whatever his speculative errors, must be appreciated and honored by every true and loyal heart.

The distinguishing characteristic of the school of Abolitionists which recognizes William Lloyd Garrison as its head, and in which Mr. Phillips insists on taking a subordinate position, is thoroughness. The absolute right of the slave to his freedom forthwith is not merely the first article of its creed—it colors and controls all the rest. It is urged that the Bible authorizes slavery? Then so much the worse for the Bible! Does the Church impede the instant advance of the cause of Emancipation? Then run the car over the Church! Does the Union require of us complicity with slaveholding? Then shiver the Union! Does the headship and rule of the husband in the family over the slave? Then array with masculine supremacy, and let Woman vote, preach, plead in court, or hold office, precisely like man! In short, whatever justifies or fortifies the enslavement of human beings is abhorrent and execrable—let it be cast to the mire and the bats this instant and without ceremony! Such I understand to be the essence of Garrisonism.

That this heroic treatment has been at least effective, I do not doubt. And yet I do not realize that it has been so effective as its devotees believe and assert. Here is the radical mistake which pervades the inculcations of this school, and which discloses the fair volume now before me. I readily admit that there was a work for this school, and that they have done it at least faithfully. But it is not true—it is very far otherwise—though Mr. Phillips constantly assumes its self-evident verity, that the great Anti-Slavery revolution of our age and clime owes its existence wholly or mainly to Mr. Garrison and his school. I am not here contending that they were vitally wrong in their views and methods—let those who will discuss this point—I am only asserting that, whether they were right or wrong, the revolution would have occurred without them—and more slowly, less thoroughly, if you will; but it would at all events have occurred. The seizure of Texas; the war in Mexico; the quarrel over the division of the bootsy; the Nebraska inquiry; the Kansas struggle; the brutal maiming of Sumner; the John Brown raid; the Democratic quarrel and split at Charleston, are not the sole work of Mr. Garrison and his *Liberator*, and Mr. Phillips over-estimates the importance of the part played by himself and his little band in the great drama now approaching its consummation. These sworn foes of Pharisees have a most Pharisee conceit of their own work and its consequences, which misleads and unduly inflates them. They are as faithful to their light and as useful in their sphere as themselves. This conceit often distracts and exhibits them to disavow. "Hitch your wagon to a star," is wholesome advice; but if you should happen to get the notion into your head that you are drawing the star, instead of being drawn by it, you will probably be led into mischievous phantasies and pernicious eccentricities.

But enough. Mr. Phillips's Speeches and Lectures were well worth collecting; they form a chapter of the history of our age; they seem to have been well

edited, and they are very tastefully and handsomely printed. Mr. Bedpath has done the reading public a service for which they will doubtless amply compensate him. I doubt that any other living layman's collected speeches would sell so extensively as these.

—Independent.

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

To the Editor of the London Phil.

SIR: I beg to enclose a copy of a letter which I have received from Moscow, and which gives the most recent information on the working of the Serf Emancipation Act. If you consider the communication will interest your readers, perhaps you will give it a place in your columns. I am, sir, yours truly,

L. A. CHAMEROVSKY, Secretary.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Office,

27 New Broad street, August 8.

(Copy.)

Moscow, July 13.

"SIR: As many of your readers are interested in the great question of serf emancipation in Russia, I write you a few lines on the subject, trusting they will encourage the efforts of those who are working in the anti-slavery cause in other parts of the world. I have seen frequently the leaders of the serf emancipation movement both in Moscow and Petersburg, as well as in the interior. I visited the estates of Prince Cherkessky, 100 miles south of Moscow, in the government of Tula, and I was delighted with all I saw and heard. It shows without any doubt that a great and peaceful revolution has been accomplished in Russia, the effects of which are calculated to be of great utility to the cause of the peasantry throughout the world.

"The great principle on which emancipation is based is the old municipal system of Russia, applied to the peasantry; a complete system of self-government. The peasants elect themselves the heads of the villages, and these correspond with the authorities."

"These heads assemble twice a month to settle disputes among the peasants. The government appointed throughout Russia 1,600 honorary magistrates to settle disputes between the peasants and proprietors. These magistrates meet once a month in session to hear appeals from the decision of individual magistrates. I was present at one of them. It was a case where a steward brought a charge against the peasantry of not paying certain debts which they had contracted before emancipation. It was deeply interesting to watch the different parties. The independent and civil air of the peasants, who felt they were treated as men not as cattle, and on the other hand the insolent swagger of the steward, who seemed sure of gaining his case, and no doubt looked with a longing, lingering regret on the good old times when he could have sent these peasants to Siberia, and was absolute master of the life and honor of them and their families. However, he was defeated, and had to retire crestfallen. It is truly a new era for the peasants.

"Education is progressing along with social improvement. More than 8,000 schools have been opened for the peasants, and everywhere I hear of their being anxious to read, as they feel they ought to be able to read the laws by which they are governed. The peasant now feels he is a man, and such ought to cultivate his intellect.

"Fierce was the opposition raised to emancipation, particularly by the smaller proprietors, who ground the peasant down by excessive exactions. The great proprietors were much more liberal. The men who advocated emancipation had to endure much from their countrymen, and I only wish they received more sympathy from Englishmen, as they are deserving of it, as is the Czar. Nothing could exceed his firmness and noble zeal in the question. He knew that by his course he ran the risk of losing his life, but this did not deter him.

"The demand for land is increasing rapidly on the part of the peasants. The enemies of emancipation said the land would go out of cultivation, as the peasantry would be too idle to work, but events have disproved this. I was surprised to see the care with which the peasants cultivate their land, and the eagerness with which they invest any savings they may possess in the purchase of land. They have in this the same taste as the French peasantry. The peasantry in Russia not got the land—of course paying rent for it—it would have led to a proletarian system most disastrous to the Russian peasant.

"I have heard from all classes of persons here but even those who were opposed to it, now admit that it was inevitable, and that it was accomplished in a peaceful way far exceeding their expectations.

"To enlarge on the working of it in Russia would take half a volume. Suffice it to say, that we regard the spread of schools, the improved habits of industry by the introduction of the peasant proprietor system, or the effect on the family relations of the peasant's emancipation is realizing all that its most sanguine friends anticipated. Yes, more; for when has there been such a revolution accomplished without shedding of blood? and the peasants had many deep-seated wrongs to avenge on the proprietors, but they forbore, strong in the sense of justice.

"Nor are the effects beneficial only for the peasant. It is a question whether the proprietor will not in many cases gain as much and certainly morally. He will no longer be so tempted by idleness, the parent of vice. The new system will require him to look after his own affairs, instead of leaving them in the hands of a grinding steward. Instead of being a mere pleasure-buoy on the Continent, he will have to live much on his own estates, and superintend in person, which will induce good habits. Instead of being surrounded by hosts of cheaply-paid domestic servants, ready to obey his bidding whether for moral or immoral purposes, he will have to maintain fewer servants, and to exert himself more, not living in the style of an Eastern sultan.

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"Emancipation is also leading to other reforms. Law reform and the principles of constitutional government are following in its train. This was the reason why the late Emperor Nicholas, though favorable to serf emancipation, would not grant it. He knew that it must necessarily break down the despotic system of which he was so great an admirer. Yet on his dying bed he admitted the not granting it as one of the great errors of his reign.

(Signed) JAMES LONG, (Not Durpan.)

AN INCIDENT OF THE RIOT.

A CURIOUS incident, which escaped general attention at the time of its occurrence, happened at police headquarters. While Mr. President Acton was giving some final orders to a squad of men who were just leaving to combat the crowd in First Avenue, on Wednesday of the riot week, a wagon containing a hogback was driven rapidly up to the Mulberry-street door by a lad, who appeared much excited and almost breathless.

"What have you there, my lad?" said the President.

"Supplies for your men," was the answer.

"What are they?"

"It is an assorted lot, sir; but the people says it's contraband."

Being exceedingly busy, the President ordered the wagon to be driven round to the Mott street entrance, where an officer was sent to look after the goods. When the wagon arrived the officers were about to tip the cask out, but were prevented by the boy who exclaimed:

"Wait a minute; bring me a hatchet." A hatchet was brought, and the little fellow set to work unheading the cask, and as he did so the officers were astonished to see two full-grown negroes snugly packed inside. Upon being assured by the lad that they were safe, they raised their heads, took a long sniff of the fresh air, and exclaimed, "Bress de Lord."

The boy stated that the rioters had chased the poor unfortunate into the rear of some houses on the west side of the town, and that they had escaped by scaling a fence and landing in a grocer's yard; that the grocer was friendly to them, but feared his place might be sacked if they were found there. He accordingly hid upon this novel plan of getting them out, and while he kept watch in front the boy cooperated the negroes up. The cask was then rolled out like a hogback, sugar, placed in the wagon, and driven off to Mulberry street.

A DUCHESS ROMANCE.—Some thirty-four years ago, a young man left his bride in Amsterdam, with the object of proceeding to America, in order to better his position. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to his wife enclosing a certain sum of money to enable her to proceed to New York to join him. The letter was sent to his brother, who kept the money, destroyed the letter, concealed the whole matter from his sister-in-law, represented to her husband that she had died, and forthwith left the country. Her husband, in the course of time, married a second wife in New York; he was succeeding well in business, while his wife in Amsterdam regarded him as dead, and was making arrangements for her second marriage. That evening, however, never occurred; for the second letter was a few days before the day fixed for the wedding. Her husband, meanwhile, made a fortune, which he was unwilling to subject to the risk of war, as he was disposed of his business, and a few days after he returned to Amsterdam to see once more the place of his birth. During those thirty-four years of absence, the few friends he had had died or otherwise vanished; but an accident brought to light the fact that the bride he left behind him was still alive. She, indeed, during

all this time had lived in comparative penury; but he is rich. The bride and bridegroom of thirty-four years ago, somewhat changed in external, are again husband and wife, and as such propose living till death do part, in the peaceful enjoyment of those means he has secured by a life of industry and application, spent during a matrimonial interregnum which would probably be a nice question for learned heads to solve.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

DEDICATED TO UNION MEN.

Wipe out the blot! Wipe out the spot!
Jehova's sword is flaming high!
Wipe out the blot! Cut out the rot!
In its own venom let it die!

It is the scorpion girl by fire;
Self-kindled are the flames that spread;
In its own sting ranking is its head!

Wipe out the spot! Wipe out the blot!

The pale worm's wormy thing!

Wipe out the blot! Wipe out the rot!

It is the scorpion girl by fire;

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